THE Accomplished Commander.

Being Necessary

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE Prudent Conduct OF OFFICERS IN AN ARMY.

Written by a Person of great Experience in Military Affairs, and published for the common Benefit,

By *R. C.*

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BIBLIOTHECA·BODLEIANA·

The Preface.

MY Zeal to oblige the World (though it has ſtill been unkind to me) has tempted me to be unjuſt to my Friend, in publiſhing this his admirable Work without his knowledge: For his Occaſions having called him beyond the Seas, I took this Opportunity of printing it, to which I could

never as yet obtain his Consent. But to make some Attonement for my Fault, I discover hereby the Authour's great Modesty, as well as you, in the Perusal hereof, will find his solid Learning, and judicious Observations in all things relating to a good Soldier: To these let me add, that his other Vertues are so conspicuous in the conduct of his Life, and his Knowledge and Experience in Mili-

Military Affairs ſo exquiſite, that thoſe who have been ſo happy to enjoy his admirable Converſation in his ſeveral Marches and Camps up and down in the World, will be apt to ſay, That the Character which he has ſo ingeniouſly painted out, of an accompliſhed Commander in an Army, may not improperly be attributed to the Authour.

After a long Conteſt which I had within my

ſelf, betwixt my Reſpect to my Friend, and the Temptation I had to gratifie the Publick with a ſight of this ſmall but excellent Treatiſe, I upbraided my ſelf not much unlike the poor Lepers of Samaria, *when they had found the Treaſures, and taſted of the Stores of Proviſions the* Aſſyrians *had left in their Camp, at their haſty Flight from thence;* Shall we, *cried theſe Lepers,* conceal this great

great good, and not communicate it to the famiſhed Inhabitants of our City? *So*, Shall I, *argued I with my ſelf*, at a time when we have ſuch Armies in the Field, not only at home, but in other Countries, where this Treaſure may be ſo acceptable, and of ſuch great Advantage amongſt them, keep it lockt up in Obſcurity? *Theſe and the like Thoughts were ſuffi-*

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cient Motives to prevail with me for its publication.

But were I ſure to obtain my Friend's Pardon, for this breach of Truſt, which I do not much doubt, for I am confident I ſhall gain Advocates enough to plead in my behalf; and becauſe the Piece in it ſelf is ſuch, that ſome of our beſt Pens need not bluſh to own; yet I can never hope it, for permitting it to come

forth.

forth thus disguised and blemished with Faults, merely through the unskilfulness of the Transcriber; For my part, I can make but too just an Apology for my self herein; for, ever since I delivered the Copy to the Bookseller, my own troublesome Affairs have unhappily diverted me from taking that due Care of it which I ought to have done, either by reviewing it before it went to

the Preſs, or preventing its being ſo publiſhed; ſo that it happens to be printed with many groſs Errours, particularly amongſt the proper Names, ſome of which I have rectified in an Errata *for the preſent; and promiſe beforehand, that if it bear another Impreſſion, I ſhall be very induſtrious to make it appear very correct, and in its native Beauty.*

R. C.

The

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ERRATA.

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OF

OF

WAR.

AFter a long ſcene of Peace War ever enters the Stage, and is ſo much of the World's Phyſick, as it is both a purge, and a Bloud-letting. Peace, Fulneſs, Pride, and War, are the four follies that, being let in to one another, make

the wheel that the Times turn on, as we ſee in Bees, when the Hive multiplies and fills, nature hath always taught it a way of eaſe by Swarms; ſo the World, and Nations, when they grow overpopulous, they diſcharge themſelves by Troups and Bands. 'Tis but the diſtemper of the Body politick, which, like the natural reſt and a full diet, hath burthen'd with repletion; and that highthens humors either to Sickneſs, or Evacuation: When 'tis eas'd of theſe it ſubſides again to a quiet reſt and temper; ſo War is begotten out of Peace graduately, and ends in Peace immediately. Between Peace and War are two Stages,

Stages, Luxury, Ambition; between War and Peace, none at all. The Causes of War may be reduced to five heads; Ambition, Avarice, Revenge, Providence, and Defence. The first were the most usual causes of War among the Heathen; yet what all the conquered call'd Pride and Covetousness, both the *Romans* and *Grecians* were taught by their high bloud to call Honour, and increase of Empire. That which hath grown from the propagation of Religion, was never of such force, as since the *Mahumetan* Law, and Catholick Cause, hath ruffled among the Nations; yet questionless to lay the foundation of Religion in

bloud, is to condemn it before we teach it. The Sword may force Nature, and destroy the Body, but cannot make the Mind believe that lawfull which is begun in unlawfulness; yet without doubt in the enterprizes the Opinion has animated much: we see how it formerly fired the *Turk*, and is yet a strong motive to *Spanish*, and *French* attempts. For that of Revenge, I see not but it may be lawfull for a Prince, even by War to vindicate Himself, and People; and the reason is, because in such causes of injury the whole Nation is interessed, and many times the Recompence is more due to the Subjects than the Sove-

Sovereign. That of Providence may well have a pass, as when Princes make War to avoid War, or when they see a storm inevitably falling 'tis good to meet it, and break the force; should they ever sit still while the blow were given them, they might very well undoe themselves by Patience; we see in the Body men often bleed to prevent an imminent Sickness. For that of Defence, both Religion and all the Rules of Nature plead for't: Sharp War and the very novelty of sudden Violence use to dismay any State or Country not inured to the like; but custome of Danger hardeneth those that are unwarlike.

Nineveh had been the Palace of many valiant Kings lately reigning therein; it had suffered and resisted all the fury wherewith either domestical Tumults between the Sons of *Senacharib*, or foreign War of the *Babilonians* could afflict it; and therefore it is less wonderfull *Phraortes* did speed so ill in his journey against it; he and the most part of his Army perished in that expedition. For the weapons of War, they differ much from those in antient times, and I believe the Invention of Ordinances have mightily sav'd the lives of men; they command at such distance, and are so unresistible, that men

men come not to the ſhock of battel as in former ages: We may obſerve that the greateſt numbers have fallen by thoſe weapons that have brought the Enemies neareſt together; then the pitcht field was the tryall, and men were ſo ingaged, that they could not come off till bloud had deſided Victory. The ſame advantages are ſtill, and rather greater now than of old; the Wind, the Sun, the better Ground, in former Wars: For all their Armies the air was ever clear, but now their Peices miſt and thicken it, which beaten upon by diſadvantages, may ſoon endanger an Army. Surely Wars are the ſame with Offen-

ces, they muſt be, yet they are mightily in the fault that cauſe them; even Reaſon teaches to caſt the bloud of the ſlain upon the unjuſt authors of it; that which gives the Mind ſecurity is a juſt cauſe, and juſt deputation; let me have theſe, and of all other I ſhall think this one of the nobleſt and moſt manly ways of dying.

Pre-

Preparation for War.

HE that will make Preparation for War, ought principally to consider six things:

First, In calling a wise and judicious Council, according to that of *Solomon*, every purpose is established by Counsel, and with good advice make War. *Cyneas* got more Cities by his Wisdom, than *Pyrrhus* by his Puissance. *Caridemus*, a banished *Grecian* of *Athens*, told *Darius*, when he made a view of his Army about *Babylon*, (*viz.*) That the multitude which

which he had assembled of divers Nations, richly attired, but poorly armed, would be found more terrible to the Inhabitants of the Country, whom in passing by they would devour, than the *Macedonians* whom they went to assail, who being old and obedient Soldiers, embattell'd in gross Squadrons, which they call their *Phalanx*, well covered with Armour for defence, and furnished with Weapons for offence, of great advantage, would make so little account of his delicate *Persians*, loving their ease and their palate, being withall ill arm'd, and worse disciplin'd, as, except it would please him to entertain (having

so

ſo great abundance of treaſure to doe it withall) a ſufficient number of the ſame *Grecians*, and ſo to encounter the *Macedonians* with men of equal courage, he would repent him over late, as taught by the miſerable ſucceſs which followed; but *Darius*, who had been accuſtomed to nothing ſo much as his own Praiſes, and nothing ſo little as to hear Truth, commanded that this poor *Grecian* ſhould be preſently ſlain; who while he was a ſundering in the Tormentor's hands, uſed this ſpeech to the King, That *Alexander*, againſt whom he had given this good avice, ſhould aſſuredly avenge his death, and lay

deſer-

deſerved puniſhment upon *Darius* for deſpiſing his counſel. It is a ſaying of a wiſe man, The Princes ſafety is in a deſperate caſe, whoſe ear judges all that is profitable to be ſharp, and will entertain nothing that is unpleaſant; for liberty in Counſel is the life and eſſence of Counſel.

The Second, Proviſion of Victuals, without which no one ought to enter upon any deſignment.

The Third, Proviſion of Money, for all ſuch things as might be neceſſary, or behoof-full for the action.

The Fourth, In a Megazine well furniſhed with all ſorts of Ammunition, which may at leaſt

leaſt be thought uſefull, or advantageous in all deſigns or undertakings; for the want of which ſtore we have often ſeen, that great Armies have been for'cd to quit the field, leaving the Victory to men of ſmaller number, and of leſs courage, having the advantage in being better furniſhed.

The Fifth. In an Army well arm'd, either in all, or for the moſt part conſiſting of old beating Soldiers; for upon raw and freſh Fellows it is not ſafe to repoſe one's hopes: And in truth that General can never ſecurely come to the tryall of Battel, nor ſafely encamp, whoſe Army for the greateſt part conſiſteth not of

old

old experienc'd Soldiers; a rule ever verified by the moſt judicious Captains that ever were, *Alexander*, *Hannibal*, *Scipio*, and *Cæſar*, who never entred into any Enterpriſe, but did firſt of all provide themſelves of great numbers thus qualified.

The Sixth, In experience of his Enemies Forces, by which meaſuring thy own; and if thou feeſt the advantage on thy ſide, then bid them battel; if it ſtands upon indifferency, or equal terms, if thou canſt truſt on thy own skill and conduct, never refuſe it; but if thou find thy ſelf inferior, then either by Strategems make thy ſelf ſuperior, or by tempo-

temporiſing ſtay untill time ſhall either leſſen thy Enemies Forces, or make thy own more ſtronger: But in all ſuch warlike caſes, that Prince which is moſt abſolute in his ſelf ſeems to have the greateſt advantage. The Empire of *Germany* had doubtleſs ſooner encountred the *Turks*, and given a ſtop to his free entrance the firſt year of thee War into *Hungary*, had he not been neceſſitated to expect the conſent of his ſeveral Princes, and the reſult of a Diet, when the *Turks* were ready to enter *Germany*; for when many heads or hands are required, all buſineſs moves ſlowly, and more time is ſpent in agreements of the Manner

of

of Action in arguments and debates, (which are most commonly carried on by Faction,) than in the most difficult point of Execution.

How

How Commanders ought to be qualified.

COmmanders in War ought to be built upon theſe three Vertues; they ſhould be Wiſe, Valiant, and Experienced: Wiſdom in a General many times ends the War without War; of all victories the *Romans* thought that beſt, which was leaſt ſtain'd with bloud; and they were content to let *Camillus* tryumph when he had not fought in theſe times: It is eſpecially requiſite, ſince Strategems and advantages are more in uſe than the

the open and daring valour: yet valiant he must be, else he grows contemptible, loses his Command, and by his own fear infects his Troups with Cowardice. To the eternal honour of *Cæsar Cicero* reports, that in all his Commands of the Field there was not found an *Ito*, but a *Veni*, as if he had scorn'd in all his on-sets to be any thing but still a Leader, always teaching by the strongest authority his own forwardness, his own examples. Although these be excellencies, they be all without experience lame; let him be never so learned, his books cannot limit his designs in several, and though he be perfect in a paper.

per plot, where his eye has all in a view, he will fail in a league, where he sees but a limb at once. Besides, Experience puts a Credit on his actions, and makes him far more prompt in undertakings; and indeed there is a great deal of reason why we should respect him that with an untainted Valour has grown old in Arms. *Scipio* conquered the greatest part of *Spain*, in the four and twentieth year of his age; and *Polibius* doth attribute to his honour, that the chiefest Vertue whereby he got the eminency of Excellency, and whereby he mastered the actions he undertook, how difficult soever, was his great

Industry

Induſtry, and large Experience in military Affairs; and *Titus Livius* aſcribeth unto him a particular dextery of Wiſdom, appropriated above common meaſure unto himſelf only; *For*, ſaith he, *it could not be otherwiſe, unleſs by ſome extraordinary favour from above, that he over-weighed the greateſt dangers and difficulties befalling him, both at home and abroad.*

It is alſo very requiſite that all Commanders ſhould be well skill'd in the Art of Arithmetick; for without which Art it is very hard and difficult for the wiſeſt of Men to divide Armies into Regiments, and ſo into Campanies of equal num-

number; or to proportion the quantity of Proviſion, or Amunition, according to the number of Soldiers, either for days, weeks, or years; or to be exact in their payments; or for digging of Trenches, or raiſing of Bullworks, or any other Fortification, according to ſtrength and time; or to proportion ground, either to encamp on, or battalia an Army to fight, or defend an Enemy at the beſt advantage; or degreeing of Guns according to place and diſtance. *Alexander Magnus* without all doubt was well skill'd in all ſuch like Arts; for if you read his life, you ſhall ſee that famous Philoſopher, *Ariſtotle*, his School-

Ma-

Maſter. Beſides all theſe Arts, Swimming is very neceſſary to be learnt, both by Commanders and Soldiers; for there is hardly an Iſland or Country ſo barren of water, but there are Rivers of that breadth and depth which are not paſſable without ſwimming; for if an Army be forc'd on a River, either by retreat, flight, or in purſuance of an Enemy; the former like to periſh, the latter looſe their enterpriſe. It is ſtoried of the ſame *Alexander*, though being ſo complete a Captain and Soldier, and to the admiration of all Commanders that followed him, that he being ſo expert in War, yet he never

learnt

learn to ſwim, being a thing ſo neceſſary as he himſelf found it in all actions of War; for his Soldiers not daring to approach unto *Niſa*, a City environ'd with a deep River, he ſtanding by, and looking upon it, wept full bitterly that he had not learnt that Art, terming himſelf to be a man of no worth, and baſely brought up.

It is poſſible, though very rare, to find a Commander qualified with all theſe War-like Vertues: With all the Authors I have conſulted, I find none come ſo near as *Epaminondas*, which I ſhall leave to the world (as he is recommended) for an example. *Epa-*

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minondas at the great Battel of *Mantua* was mortally wounded with a Dart; the wood breaking of, left the Iron in his breaſt, and being brought into his Tent, was told by the Phyſician, that when the head of the Dart ſhould be drawn out of his body, he muſt needs dye; hearing this he called for his Squire, which brought him his Sheild, which to have loſt, was held a great diſhonour; he bad them tell him which part had the victory, anſwer was made, the *Bœotians* had won the Field, *Then*, ſaid he, *'tis fair time for me to dye*; and withall ſent for *Joledes* and *Diaphantes*, two principal Men

Men of War, that were both ſlain, which being told him, he adviſed the *Thebeans* to make Peace, whilſt with advantage they might; for that they had no one left that was able to diſcharge the Office of a General. Herewithall he willed that the head of the weapon ſhould be drawn out of his body, comforting his Friends that lamented his death, and want of Iſſue, by telling them that the victories of *Luctra* and *Mantinna* were two fair Daughters, in whom his Memory ſhould live.

So dyed *Epaminondas*, the worthieſt Man that ever was bred in that Nation of *Greece*,

and hardly to be match'd in any Nation or Country; for he equall'd all, even in the ſeveral Vertues, and in each of them was ſingular: His Juſtice and Sincerity, his Temperance, Wiſdom, and high Magnaminity were no way inferior to his Military Vertue; in every part whereof he ſo exceeded, that he might not improperly be call'd a wary, a Valiant, a Politick, a Bountifull, or an Induſtrious, and a Provident Captain: All theſe Titles and many other, being due unto him, with which his notable Diſcipline and good Conduct made a perfect completion of an Heroick General. Neither was his private Con-

Converſation unanſwerable to theſe high Parts, which gave him praiſes abroad; for he was Grave, and yet very Affable and Courteous; reſolute in publick buſineſs; but in his own particular eaſie, and of much Mildneſs; a lover of People, bearing with Men's infirmities; Witty, and pleaſant in Speech; far from inſolence; Maſter of his own Affections, and furniſhed with all Qualities that might win and keep the love of his Soldiers. To theſe Graces were added a great ability of Body, much Eloquence, and very deep Knowledg in all parts of Philoſophy and Learning; wherewith his Mind being enlightene

reſted not in the ſweet contemplation, but brake forth into ſuch effects, as gave unto *Thebes*, which had ever been an underling, a dreadfull reputation among all People adjoyning, and the higheſt command in *Greece*.

How

How to gain and keep the Love of Soldiers.

NOthing procureth the love of Soldiers like a Commander, whoſe noble Heart is the Seat of Humility, attended with the hand of Bounty; where the heart is ſtuft with Pride, nothing more begets Hate: The proud Captain walks among Daggers pointed againſt him, whereas the humble and affable have the people for their guard in time of danger: The Captain that is Noble to his Soldiers, al-

though he ſeems low, yet carries ſuch a ſway that commands their very Souls: But let him take heed he expreſſeth it not in unworthy actions, for then leaving Vertue, it falls into diſdained baſeneſs, which is the undubitable badge of one that will betray Society; ſo far as a Commander, both in words and deeds, may be free from Flattery and unmanly Cowardice, he may be humble with commendation.

The great affection which *Cæſar's* Soldiers bore to him proceeded chiefly from theſe two Cauſes: The firſt from his Humility; for we read in his Orations, and ſet Speeches, he would not call them by the

name

name of Soldiers, but Companions, and Fellows in Arms. The second from his Liberality; for one while he would give his Soldiers Prisoners, another while Corn; and for all such as were disabled, or by Age forc'd to leave the War, he took the care that they should have a competent maintainance during their lives.

He also valued the Reputation of his Soldiers at the highest rate imaginable, as it plainly appeareth; for after the Overthrow given, and his Soldiers defeated by *Sabynus*, he would never trim his Beard, nor yet as much as once smile, until such time as making their Loss his particular Prejudice,

he had revenged that diſgrace.

He ſeverely puniſhed injuries, and ſuch as were treacherous unto him; he was a moſt ſtrickt and ſevere obſerver of Martial Diſcipline, but at all other faults he would wink, as if he ſaw them not: So accompliſh'd a Captain and Soldier was he, that by his Humility, Liberality, and good Conduct, he had ſo much won the hearts of his Soldiers, that it is even ſaid, *Cæſar's* Eye made his Soldiers prodigal of their Bloud. Plt.

To keep the Love of Soldiers.

But the chiefeſt thing in a General is when he hath brought his Soldiers under obedience, and that

that he doth intend to keep their love, he muſt as well make them partakers of his Victories, as to oblige them by Gifts; for he that doth not as well impart of the Honour which he gaineth in the Wars, as he doth of the Spoils, ſhall never be long followed by thoſe of the better ſort; for men that are well born, or well bred, and have more of Wealth than Reputation, do as often ſatisfie themſelves with the purchaſe of Glory, as the weak in Fortune, and ſtrong of Courage, do with gain of Gold and Silver.

Laſtly, I could adviſe all Commanders to doe their Soldiers that right, agreeable to

that of *Hannibal* towards his Enemies, *Hoſtem qui feriet, erit mihi Carthaginenſis*, Let him be of what condition he will in all offices or actions, he that deſerves beſt ſhall have beſt.

Of

Of Wiſdom and Policy in War, and Examples thereof.

A Wiſe Man ſcaleth the City of the mighty. Wiſdom is profitable for all things in Military affairs. Prudence is better than Puiſſance. How did *Archimedes* by his rare Engines preſerve *Syracuſæ* againſt the *Romans*; and how many impregnable Cities have been ſurprized by Warlike Strategems, As,

Babylon by *Cyrus*, and afterwards by *Zophirus*, under *Darius*;;

rius; *Jeruſalem* by *Pompey*, taking the opportunity of the Sabbath day, wherein he knew the ſuperſtitious *Jews* would not ſtir to defend themſelves.

A prudent Man foreſees the evil, *&c.* Premiſſion is the beſt means for Prevention. A wiſe Man's Eyes are in his Head, and his Heart at his right Hand.

The *Chinois* ſay, That all others in the World, ſee but with one eye, and they only with two. The *Italians* ſay, that they look before they leap, forecaſt all evil before it befalls them; but theſe are praiſes belonging to thoſe that have Heavenly Wiſdom, that by

by Signs discern a Tempest in the Clouds, and seek seasonable shelter under the hollow of God's Hand, under the shadow of his Wings; as did *Noah*, *Joseph*, *Jonadab*, *Josiah*, the Christians at *Pella*, &c.

Homer maketh the Prudentest and Valiant, ever best Arm'd when they come to Battel. And the Law-maker amongst the *Grecians* do ever punish him that casteth away his Target, but never him that casteth away his Sword or Lance; for every man should first think of defending himself, before he seek to hurt his Enemy.

What a prize did *Agamemnon* set upon his *Nestor* for his Wis-

Wiſdom, and *Darius* upon *Zophirus*. *Scipio* did nothing without his *Polibius*, and aſcribed moſt of his Victories to his Wiſdom.

It was ſaid of *Octavius Auguſtus*, that he never made War upon any People without juſt and neceſſary Cauſes. His Saying was, That neither Battel, nor War, was to be undertaken, unleſs there might be evidently ſeen more hope of Gain, than fear of Damage. He likened ſuch as ſought after ſmall Commodities with great Danger, unto thoſe that angle with a golden Hook, which if it be broken off, no draught of Fiſh whatſoever is able to make amends for the loſs.

loſs. He deemed nothing leſs beſeeming a perfect and accompliſht Captain than Temerity, or Raſhneſs, uſing this Speech, *That is done ſoon enough, that is done well enough.*

Policy governs the World, Nature Policy, but Religion all; and as we ſeldom ſee thoſe Kingdoms govern'd by Viceroys flouriſh like thoſe where the Prince is preſent in Perſon, ſo we never find Policy, or Nature, to keep a Man in that quiet which Religion can: The two firſt I may uſe as Counſelours, hear what they ſay, and weigh it; but the laſt muſt be my Sovereign. *Policy.*

Lyſan-

Examples of Policy.

Lysander, King of *Sparta*, a gallant General, and very Politick, used to say, *That where the Lyon's skin would not suffice, it was meet to put the Fox's skin upon it.*

Philip and *Alexander*, Kings of *Macedon*, used to buy Victory with Money, not Money with Victory, by which Policy they did many notable things, and conquered the World; whence came that common saying, *That not* Philip, *but his Gold and Silver won him the Cities of* Greece. For certainly Policy runs smoothest when it turns upon a golden Hinge; without the supply of means, 'tis but like

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a Clock without a Weight to ſet it going, curious Workmanſhip, but it wants a Mover.

Alexander perceiving *Darius* with his huge Army at hand, entrenches himſelf upon a ground of advantage, which the *Perſian* had abandoned. And whereas *Darius*, for fear of ſurprize, had ſtood with his Army in Armour all the day, and forborn ſleep all night; *Alexander* gave his Men reſt, and ſtore of food, for Reaſon had taught him this Rule in the Wars, *Soldiers do the better ſtand to it in fight, if they have their bellies full of meat and drink; for Hunger within fights more eagerly then Steel without.* The Conſtable of

France

France made frustrate the mighty preparation of *Charles* the Fifth, when he invaded *Provence*, by wasting the Country, and forbearing to fight. So did the Duke of *Alva* weary the *French* in *Naples*, and dissolve the potent Army of the Prince of *Orange* in the Low-Countries.

It was a Policy of the *Romans* to make their Conquest sure; they would always ease the conquer'd of their burthens, giving them more liberty than they had before; that made the *Gascoignes* bear such a faithfull affection to the Kings of *England*, for that they govern'd more mildly than the *French*. This enlarged the

Vene-

Venetian Juriſdiction in *Lombardy*; for the Towns that they won, they won out of the hands of Tyrannous Oppreſſors. And this did cauſe the *Macedonians*, with other Nations that had been Subject unto the proſperity of *Alexander*'s followers, to ſerve the *Romans* patiently, if not willingly; for that by them they were eas'd of many burthens, which had been impoſed upon them by their own Kings. When *Scipio* ſaw his Horſe to be beaten at the battel of *Facinium*, by the ſtrength of *Hannibal*, and the reſt of his Army thereby greatly diſcouraged, he thought it a point of Wiſdom, having loſt ſo many

of

of his Fleet, upon the first puff of Wind, to take part with the rest before the extremest of the Tempest overtook him; for he saw by the louring morning what manner of day it was like to prove: Therefore his Battel of Foot being yet unbroken, he in a manner stole the Retreat, and recovered the Bridge over *Ticinus*, which he had formerly built; but notwithstanding all the haste he made, he left six hundred of his Rear behind him, who were the last that should have passed, and staid to break the Bridge. Herein he followed the rule of a Politick Man of War, which must be understood in this sort. If

a

a General of an Army by ſome unproſperous beginnings doubt the ſucceſs, or find his Army fearfull, or wavering, it is more profitable to ſteal a ſafe Retreat, than to abide the uncertain Event of Battel.

Alexander Severus gave ſuch Lands as he won out of the hands of his Enemies to his Lords, Marches, and Soldiers, that they ſhould be theirs and their Heirs for ever, ſo they would be Soldiers; neither ſhould they at any time come to the hands of private Men, ſaying, *They would the more carefully ſerve, if they fought for their own Lands.*

Campi-

Campidus Lycurgus commanded his *Spartans* that they ſhould never make War often with one Enemy, leſt in proceſs of time they ſhould grow more expert and valiant than themſelves.

It was look'd upon as Policy in *Scipio*, becauſe he would not hazard his own Perſon, unleſs moved by opportunity, or forced by neceſſity; whereupon being in ſome ſort taxed for not adventuring himſelf, he made anſwer, *That he was not born a Soldier, but a Commander*; inferring thereby that Forwardneſs is eſpecially to be expected in private Soldiers, good Conduct and Temporizing to be the moſt requiſite

ſite parts in a General. It was likewiſe a ſaying of his, *That the paſſage whereby an Enemy was to take his flight is not to be ſtopped; for as their flight will adminiſter occaſion of ſlaughter and advantage, ſo it is moſt dangerous to fight with People ſtanding upon terms of deſpair and neceſſity.*

But the trueſt Policy in War, and for the moſt part with good ſucceſs, is that which is ordained againſt the richeſt Nations, for as the Needy are always adventurous, ſo Plenty is wont to ſhun peril; and Men that have wherewith well to live, do rather ſtudy how to live well, I mean wealthy, than care to dye (as they call it) Honou-

Honourably; no man makes haste to that Market where is nothing to be bought but blows.

Of Courage and Valour in War, with Examples thereof.

WHilſt a People walk in obedience to God, he hath promiſed that they ſhall chaſe their Enemies, who ſhall fall before them on the Sword; and that five of them ſhall chaſe one hundred, and one hundred ſhall put ten thouſand to flight; whence it appears, that the Spirit of Courage and Valour is from the Lord, who by weak and ſmall means doth many

times effect great and wonderfull things, that the Glory of all may be his.

What wonderfull Valour did *David* ſhow in killing the Lion, and the Bear, and in the duel with that huge *Polypheme* of the *Philiſtians*, and in many other Martial Acts againſt them; ſo that it ſeems that action is beſt done, which being good is done with the Vigour of the Spirits: What makes Zeal ſo commendable, but the Fervency that it carrieth with it? Other Examples. In the Battel of *Cynægyrus*, an *Athenian*, who ſhewed ſuch incomparable Valour, that purſuing the *Perſians* to their Ships, when ſome of them were

were putting off from the ſhoar, he caught hold of one of the Ships with his right Hand, holding it till his Hand was cut off, then he laid hold on it with his left Hand till that alſo was cut off, and then he caught hold of it with his Teeth. *Juſtin.*

When *Alexander* had put *Calſhenes* to death, he ſuſpected *Lyſimaches*, another of his Captains, becauſe he had been a familiar to *Calſhenes*, and thereupon cauſed him to be caſt naked to a moſt fierce Lion; but when the Lion came roaring upon him, *Lyſimaches* wraped his ſhirt about his arm, and thruſting his arm into the Lion's mouth,

and taking fast hold of his Tongue, he slew the Lion; of which *Alexander* being informed, having his Valour in admiration, he not only forgave him, but esteemed him more highly than before. Valour was so much esteemed among the *Lacedemonians*, that in publick Feasts they had always three dances:

The 1st. of old Men, who Sung,

We have been young and strong,
And valiant heretofore,
Till broken Age did hold us back,
And bid us doe no more.

The 2d. of young Men, who Sung,

We yet are young, bold, ſtrong,
And ready to maintain
That quarrel ſtill againſt all Men
That do on Earth remain.

The 3d. of Children, who Sung,

And we do hope as well
To paſs you all at laſt,
And that the World ſhall witneſs be,
E'er many years be paſt.

In their War they aſſaulted their Enemies very fiercely, and never gave over till the flight of their Enemies had aſſured them of Victory, and

then they quickly and quietly return'd into their own Camp, judging it unworthy of their Manhood, and an ignoble action, to kill and hew in peices Men once ſcattered, and out of order; this much further'd their Victories, their Enemies being upon flight, ſecure from farther danger.

Julius Cæſar was of a moſt Magnanimous Reſolution, inſomuch as being forewarn'd of a Conſpiracy that was made againſt him in the Senate, he anſwered, *That he had rather dye, than admit of fear.*

Areſtomenes King of the *Meſſenians*, was a very Gallant and Valiant Man, who in a Battel againſt the *Corinthians*, ſlew

ſlew one hundred Men with his own hand; the like he did in divers other Battels; whereupon he uſed to offer *Jupiter* a Sacrifice, call'd *Hecatomphona*, or *conticideum Pauſen*. After the Battelat *Chæronea*, wherein *Philip* King of *Macedon* overcame the *Athenians*, and after the Victory looking upon the dead bodies of his Adverſaries, he much commended them for their Valour; for that all their wounds were in their foreparts, and for that they dyed in thoſe Stations which were aſſigned by their Captains.

The two *Scipios*, Brethren, were famous for the Wars in *Spain*, and againſt the *Carthaginians*, ſo that they were called

duo fulmina belli, the two thunder bolts of War.

Claudius Marcellus fought one and fifty Battels, and was for his Valour called, *Gladius Romani Populi*, the Sword of the *Romans*; as *Fabius* was called *Clypeus*, their Buckler, for his Policy.

George Caſtriot, *alias Scanderbeg*, Prince of *Epirus*, was inſpired with ſuch a Spirit of Valour by God, in defending his Country againſt the Barbarous *Turks*, that in fighting againſt them, for very Egerneſs of Spirit his Bloud would uſually burſt out of his Lips, and with ſuch Violence he ſtruck, that many of them he clove in ſunder from the

Head

head to the Middle, and uſually cut off an armed Arm at a blow; and with his own Hand he ſlew above two thouſand of them at ſeveral times.

News being brought to the *Grecians* of the huge Army that *Xerxes* had brought over into *Greece*, whoſe Archers were ſo many (as it was reported) that the flight of the *Perſian* Arrows would be ſo thick, as they would darken the light of the Sun; *Dioneces*, a *Spartan*, anſwered, *Its good news, for then we ſhall fight in the ſhade.*

Julius Cæſar was a very Valiant Man, and ſucceſsfull in all his Wars; ſo that in his Life time he took a Million of

Men Prisoners, and slew as many.

But why should I range the world for Examples of Valour, whilst our own Nation can give a better account than any *Romish* Author; for if we read what a *French* Writer saith of the inequality that was between the *French* and *English*, when King *John* was ready to give the onset upon the Black Prince, at the Battel of *Poictiers*: *John* had all the advantages over *Edward*, both of Number, Force, Show, Country, and Conceipt, the which is commonly a consideration of no small Importance in Warlike Affairs; and withall, the cheif of all, his

Horse-

Horſemen eſteemed them the beſt in *Europe*, with the greateſt and wiſeſt Captains of his whole Realm, and what could he wiſh more. I think it would trouble a *Roman* Antiquary to find the like Examples in their Hiſtories, the Example, I ſay, of a King brought Priſoner to *Rome* by an Army of eight Thouſand, which he had ſurrounded with forty Thouſand better appointed, and no leſs expert Warriours; all that have read of *Creſſe*, and *Agincourt*, will bear me witneſs that I do not alledg the Battel of *Poictiers* for lack of others, as good Examples of *Engliſh* Valour; the Proof whereof hath left many hundred

better Marks in all quarters of *France*, than ever did the Valour of the *Romans*. If any man ſhall ask, How then came it to paſs, that they won ſo many great Battels, having no advantage to help them? I may with beſt Commendation of Modeſty, refer him to the *French* Hiſtorian, who relating the Victory of our men at *Crevant*, where they paſſed a Bridge in face of the Enemy, uſeth theſe Words: *The* Engliſh *comes with a Conquering bravery, as he was accuſtomed, to gain every where without any ſtay; he forced our Guards placed upon the Bridge to keep the paſſages*: Or I may cite another Place of the ſame Authour, where

where he tells how the *Britains*, being invaded by *Charles* the Eight, King of *France*, thought it good Policy to apparel a Thouſand one Hundred of their own men in *Engliſh* Caſſocks, hoping that the very ſight of our *Engliſh* red Creſt would be enough to terrifie the *French*. But I will not ſtand to borrow of *French* Hiſtorians, all which, excepting *Deſerres*, and *Paulus Æucylius*, were reported wonders of our Nation; and likewiſe our own Hiſtories, who tell us that the Military Vertue of the *Engliſh*, prevailing againſt all manner of difficulties, ought to be preferred before that of the *Romans*, which

was

was assisted with all advantages that could be desired: If it should be demanded, Why then did not our Kings finish the Conquest, as *Cæsar* had done? my Answer may be, (I hope without offence,) That our Kings were like to the race of the *Æacide*, of whom the old Poet *Ennius* gave this note, *They were more Warlike than Politick.* Who so notes their proceedings, may find that none of them went to work like a Conquerour, save only King *Henry* the Fifth, the course of whose Victories it pleased God to interrupt by his Death. But the question is more easily answered: If another be first made, why did

not

not the *Romans* attempt the conquest of *Gall* before the time of *Cæsar*? At all these times they had good leasure and fit opportunity, when, under the Conduct of *Marius*, they had newly vanquished the *Cymbry*, and *Tutones*, by whom the Country of the *Galls* had been pitiously wasted. Surely the Words of *Tully* were true, that with other Nations the *Romans* fought for Dominion, with the *Galls* for the Preservation of their own safety. But now it is high time to lay aside Comparison, and end my Discourse of this matter: Were it possible for me to particularize the Valour of our *English* Princes, Nobles, and

and Gentry, I should swell my Volume, and not attain my end, which is Brevity.

Of

Of Strategems, and Examples thereof.

IT hath been ever held for a Maxim in War, that it is more Commendation to overcome by Strategeme, than by Sword; for how many Cities has there been ſurprized by Warlike Strategems, when all the ſtrength imaginable could not have taken them otherways. Certainly Strategems in War are like Diamonds in a Ring; for as the Stones are more to be valued than the Ring it ſelf, ſo Strategems in War are more to be eſteemed

esteemed than any other War-like action besides; and the lawfulness thereof we need not doubt, *Joshua* 8.2. we read that God commanded *Joshua* to lie in ambush behind the City of *Ai*. *Judg.* 20. 29. by which Stategeme it was destroyed, and likewise *Israel* to set Lers in wait round about *Gibeah*, &c.

Other Examples.

Darius besieging the impregnable City of *Babylon*, which had revolted from him, after many ways and means assayed, knew not how to prevail; at last one of the Cheif Collonels, called *Zopyrus*, caused himself to be beaten black and blue, his Nose, Lips, and Ears to be cut off, and acquainting

ting *Darius* with his purpose, he went to *Babylon*, into which being admitted, he shewed the People his dismembred and torn Body, complains of the cruelty of *Darius*, and profereth his best assistence to them against him; the Citizens knowing the worth of the Man, and not suspecting the fraud, made him their Captain; in some Skirmishes he beat the *Persians*; at last having drawn forth all his strength of the City, he betrayed them to *Darius*, and so delivered up *Babylon* into his hands. After which *Darius* used to say, *That he had rather have one* Zopyrus, *than twenty Cities of* Babylon.

After

After the *Lacedemonians* had taken *Thebes*, ſeven of the baniſhed Men forſook *Athens* privately, and entred by night into the fields of *Thebes*, where ſpending the next day ſecretly, they came late in the evening to the Gates, like Husbandmen returned from work, and paſſed undiſcovered unto the houſe of *Charon*, whom *Philidas* the Scribe had drawn into conſpiracy. The day following a ſolemn Feaſt being held in the City, *Philidas* promiſed the Governours, who were inſolent and luſtfull Men, that he would conveigh unto them that night the beautifull Dames of the Town, with whom they ſhould take their plea-

pleaſure; having cheared them with ſuch hope, and plenty of good Wine, he told them when the time of performance (which they urged) came, that he would not make good his promiſe unleſs they would diſmiſs their followers; becauſe the Gentlewomen, who attended without in a Chamber, would not endure that any of their Servants ſhould ſee their faces; upon which occaſion the Attendents were diſmiſſed, and the Conſpirators attired like Ladies, and their Maids brought into the place, who taking advantage of the Governours looſe behaviour, ſlew them all upon a ſudden, with Daggers, which they brought hidden under

their

their Garments; so by this Strategeme they did not only purchase the *Thebans* liberty, but freed themselves of the *Lacedemonian* Garrison. Sir *W. Rawleigh.*

Cymon General of the *Athenians* triumphed over the *Persians* twice in one day; for first, He fought a great Battel with them by Sea, upon the Confines of *Asia*, wherein he gave them a great overthrow; and then taking the *Persian* Ships, he put all his Valiant Soldiers into them, and dressed them in the *Persian* Apparel, and so sailing to the place where their Land Army lay, they took them for *Persians*, returning in Triumph from

the

the slaughter of the *Athenians*; *Cymon* therefore by his Strategeme landing his Men, broke suddenly into the Camp of the *Persians*, whom he quickly overthrew with a great slaughter, and took twenty thousand Prisoners, together with an infinite mass of Treasure, the tenth part whereof the *Athenians* dedicated to their Gods. *Diod. Sic.*

Sertorius, the *Roman* General, in his passage into *Spain* was forced to pay Tribute to many Barbarous People that inhabited the *Pyrenean* Mountains, over which he was to pass; at this some of his Soldiers muttered, saying, *That it was an act very dishonourable for*

for the Romans; but he told them, *he only bought time, a commodity which such as aspire to haughty enterprizes, must take up at any rate.*

Cyaxazes, King of the *Medes*, who in his extremity was no better than a Rent-gatherer for the *Scithians*, perceiving that his Land lay unmanured and waste, through the negligence of his People, that were out of heart by daily oppressions, and that the matter could not be remedied by open force, resolved to prove what might be done by Strategeme; the managing of the business is thus delivered in brief: that he, and his *Medes*, feasted the better part of the *Scithians*, made them

them drunk and ſlew them, recovering thereby the poſſeſſion of all that they had loſt. *Herod.*

Hannibal, to bring *Fabius* into diſlike, and in ſuſpicion with the *Romans*, commanded his Soldiers, when they came near any of *Fabius* his Lands, that they ſhould burn and deſtroy all round about them, but in no ways to meddle with or hurt either his Land, or any thing that was his. He alſo appointed a Party of Soldiers to ſee that nothing belonging to *Fabius* might miſcarry. *Plut. in Vita Fa.*

The *Moſcovites*, not many years ſince, having beſieged the City of *Smolensko* in *Lithu-*

ania with an huge Army, *Valdiſlaus*, King of *Poland*, came to relieve the place; but the Enemy being ſtrongly Entrenched, he was not able to beat up their Quarters; whereupon he ſo entrenched himſelf, that he cut off all Proviſions from the *Moſcovitiſh* Army, whereby he reduced them to ſuch extremity, that they were forced either to ſtarve, or to render themſelves to his mercy. A terrible thing, and not heard of before, that a Hundred Thouſand Men ſhould bring their Arms and Colours, and caſt them at the feet of this victorious Prince: This was not only a Victory, but a monſter of a Victory; he pardoned them all.

all, and made the Strangers, which were about one Thousand four Hundred Men, to promise never to bear Arms more against the Crown of *Poland*, and so dismist them. *Hist. of this Iron Age.*

Of Expedition and Resolution in War.

HE that will act great Matters, hath no greater need of any thing than Time; and therefore ought a Prince to beg these two things at the hand of God; Length of Life, and Expedition in Execution. *Curtius* doth attribute to *Alexander* for his great Expedition in War: *For*, saith he, *I never commended any Vertue more in him than his Celerity*: And in truth, as if he had been the presager of the shortness of his own Life, both

both in Beginning and Proſecution of his Enterprize of *Aſia*; for coming very late to the River *Granico*, and being expected on the other ſide by the Lieutenants of King *Darius*, *Permenio* did adviſe him to defer the Battel till the day following, which he refuſed to doe, for looſing of time, telling him, *that* Helleſpont *would bluſh for ſhame, if having paſſed it ſo boldly, he ſhould fear to adventure on ſo ſmall a paſſage*: After his ſecond Battel he purſued *Darius* with ſuch ſpeed, that in Eleven days he marched more then Six hundred Miles.

And *Cæſar* ſaith, That to give time of Preparation is the only way to arm his E-

nemy, and to put him in readineſs; and indeed it behoveth a good Captain if he be to deal with an Enemy, which is not all together weak in Force, or Judgment, to uſe ſuch Expedition in aſſailing him, or Art in deceiving him, that either he may want time to make Preparation, or Courage to encounter the Danger; for unfortunate muſt that Captain be, if wanting neither Power nor Valour, and having time and intelligence, he doth not provide and order his Affairs as thereby he be able to make the deſignment of his Adverſary either of none, or if any, yet of ſmall and contemptible Effect.

Cæſar

Cæſar, in all his Battels, his uſe was to follow his Conqueſt, never leaving the chaſe, and purſuing his Enemies, (having once defeated them,) untill he had ſpoiled them of their Lodging, and made them wholly unable to make Head againſt him, wherein he did excellently help himſelf, by making uſe of their fear and diſorder: When *Pompey* knew not how to doe the like at *Dyrrachium*, *Cæſar* did thus cenſure his overſight, That *Pompey* knew well how to overcome, but not how to uſe his Victory.

The ſame *Cæſar* did alſo advantage himſelf by the heat of Victory, inſomuch that

many times he finiſh'd a whole War with one only Overthrow; as by that of *Pharſalia*, he became Lord of all the Eaſt. With theſe of *Lereda*, and of *Munda*, firſt he conquered, and afterwards recovered *Spain*; with that of *Thapſus* he made himſelf Maſter of *Africk*, in which point *Hannibal* committed a great overſight, who having won four or five pitcht Fields, yet in the end ſate down with the loſs, and was quite overthrown.

But as in Actions, ſo in Marching *Cæſar* uſed Expedition in all his Voyages; for in eight days he came from *Rome* to *Geneva*, and in twenty ſix days from *Rome* to the

Land

Land of *Ovilcone* near unto *Cordiba*: He uſed the like Expedition in getting and gaining of time, for that he might more fitly wage War. All the Summer he would let himſelf forwards, and travel in Winter; in which ſeaſon he paſſed from *Bunda* into *Albina*: In the Winter he made a cut out of *Italy* into *Africa*, and afterwards paſſed the *Alps* when the Snow lay ſix foot deep.

The ſame he uſed in all his other Actions, for in fifteen days he raiſed a Wall of Six foot in highth, and above Nineteen miles in length, (to wit) from *Geneva* Lake to Mount Saint *Claud*: In ten

days he built a Bridge over the *Rhine*; and in ſo many he haled his whole *Navy* on ſhoar, wherewith he paſſed into *Britain*, Rigging it anew and making it fit for the Sea.

To ſumme up all his Enterprizes, he uſed that expedition, that overcoming King *Pharnaſes*, and being deſirous to advertize one of his friends of his quick Expedition in diſpatching that War, he wrote only three Words unto *Anitius* at *Rome*: *Veni, Vidi, Vici.* I came, I ſaw, I overcame.

Of Reſolution in War.

But it is not enough for a Commander to uſe Speed and Expedition in Execution of his Enterprize,

terprize, unleſs he be alſo conſtant, and reſolute of Courage in Chances and Checks of Fortune, in Perils and Dangers; whereupon the ſaid *Cæſar* without all doubt ſurpaſſed all other Captains, whoſe memorable Proweſs, by the help of Learning, hath come to the Knowlege of Poſterity: For upon many occaſions oppoſing himſelf alone againſt his flying and diſcomfited Soldiers, ſometimes pulling them back one by one, and another while forcing them to turn again, He would rally Ranks half broken, and renew a Battel at the point of wavering, re-ſecuring whatſoever before was doubtfull: In the Field which he

he fought with the *Nericy*, the Battel being brought to that Exegent, that his whole Cavalry was upon point of flight, and the Seventh and Twelfth *Legions* in great distress, their Captains and Commanders being allmoſt ſlain; *Cæſar* caſting his Shield on his Arm, and preſſing through the midſt of the Squadrons to the Front of the Battel, he made ſuch Proof of his Valour, that partly upon his Example, and partly for the Danger wherein they ſaw their General engaged, the Soldiers perceiving hopes, gathering ſtrength and courage a freſh, renewed the fight, and ſo Valiantly behaved themſelves,

ſelves, that fifty thouſand of their Enemies lay ſlain on the Place; by which Preſident it may plainly be ſeen, how much Reſolution and Expedition import a General: For albeit that *Cæſar* was a Captain ſo wary, and ſo circumſpect, yet was he ſuddenly and ſecretly ſet upon by the Policy of his Enemies, who being covered with the-thickneſs of theſe Boughs which did over ſpread them, were ſooner felt than ſeen; he wanted but little of his lateſt Ruine, and final Overthrow, had he not helped himſelf by his innate Valour, and ſpeedy Order.

In his War of *Africa*, his Soldiers being put to the worſt,

worſt, he lugged one of his Enſign-bearers by the Throat, and turning him towards his Enemies, *There, there*, ſaid he, *are thoſe againſt whom thou muſt fight*: In the very ſame War, the Enemies having given his Men ſo furious a Charge, that they had already entred their Rampiers, and fell pell-mell with his Soldiers, *Cæſar* thruſting forward amongſt them, by his preſence and example reheartened the one, and reſtrained the other.

And likewiſe in *Spain*, perceiving his Soldiers ready to fly, traverſing the Troups, and poſting themſelves from one unto another, what with calling upon them, and what with

with lying about, he ſo managed the Matter, that his Men for very ſhame, not to be ſaid to forſake their General, if not betray him, took Heart and Courage, and obtained Victory, with the death of thirty Thouſand *Pompeians*.

Of

Of Errours in War, and the evil Conſequences thereof.

IN Military Affairs it is extreme folly, and much blamable to ſay, *I did not think it*; for in other occurrences an Errour may haply be amended, but Over-ſight in War-fare, without puniſhment and repentance inſtantly accompanying them, cannot poſſibly be redreſſed; and therefore it ſtandeth with the Reputation of a General to premeditate throughly upon his deſign-

deſignments, and to have an open and a watchfull Eye, even upon Matters of ſmalleſt Moment.

We read that *Sempronius* committed there great Errours, which every one deſerved to be recompenced with the loſs that followed; the firſt was, That he fought with *Hannibal* in a Campaigne, being by far inferiour in Horſe, and withall thereby ſubject to the *African* Elephants, which in incloſed or uneven Grounds, and Woodlands, would have been of no uſe.

His

In the Battel of Trebia, *both the* Romane *Consuls were beaten by* Hannibal.

His Second Errour was, That he made no discovery of the place upon which he fought; whereby he was grosly over-reacht, and ensnar'd by the Ambush which *Hannibal* had laid for him.

The third was, That he drencht his Foot men with empty Stomachs in the River of *Trebia*, even in a cold and frosty day, whereby in effect they lost their Limbs; for there is nothing in the World more inconvenient and perilous, than to present an Army, tired with Travel, to an Enemy fresh and fed, since thereby the Strength

Strength of the Body faileth, the Generoſity of the Mind is but an empty Vapour. When the Knowledge of *Alexander*'s Landing on *Aſia* ſide was brought to *Darius*, he ſo much ſcorn'd the Army of *Macedon*, and had ſo contemptible an opinion of *Alexander* himſelf, as having ſtyled him his Servant on a Letter which he had wrote unto him, reprehending his Diſloyalty and Audacity, (for *Darius* entitled himſelf King of Kings, and Kinſman to the Gods,) he gave order withall to his Lieutenants of Leſſer *Aſia*, that they ſhould take *Alexander* alive, whip him with Rods, and then convey him to his Preſence; that they

they ſhould ſink his Ships, and ſend the *Macedons* taken Priſoners beyond the red Sea, belike into *Æthiopia*, or ſome other unhealthfull Part of *Africa*; but by the Experience of his own overthrow, he found his grand Errour, imputing too much confidence in a multitude of diſorderly and unwarlike Men.

Darius *loſt in one Battel, againſt* Alexander, *as* Curtius *ſaith,* 100000 *Foot, and as many Horſe, and* 40000 *taken Priſoners, when* Alexander's *Army there miſcarried, but* 200 *and* 80 *in all ſorts.*

We ſee what Errour the Empire of *Conſtantinople* committed (in uſing the help of Foreign

foreign Auxiliaries) in taking ten Thousand *Turks* against his Neighbour Princes, he could never, by Persuasion or Force, set them again over Sea upon *Asia* side, which gave beginning to the Christian Servitude, that soon after followed. *Alexander*, the Son of *Cassander*, sought aid of the great *Demetrius*, who, being entred into his Kingdom, slew the Son, *Alexander* that had invited him, and made himself King of *Macedon*.

Syracon the *Turk* was called into *Ægypt* by *Sanor* the *Soldane* against his opposite, but the *Turk* did settle himself so fast in *Ægypt*, that *Solidon* his Successour became Lord thereof

thereof, and all the Holy Land ſoon after.

What need we look about for Examples of this Kind, every Nation in effect can furniſh us; the *Britains* drew the *Saxons* into this our Country, and *Macmurrough* drew the *Engliſh* into *Ireland*; but the one and the other ſoon became Lords of theſe two Kingdoms.

Of

Of Honourable Retreats, with Examples thereof.

IT is the true Judgment of Men of War, Honourable Retreats are no way inferiour to brave Charges, as having leſs of Fortune, more of Diſcipline, and as much of Valour: *Darius* was overthrown with all his Cowardly and Confuſed Rabble, when thoſe *Grecians* under their Captain *Amintas* held firm, and marched away in order, in diſpight of the Vanquiſhers; old Soldiers are not

not easily dismay'd. We read in Histories Ancient and Modern, what brave Retreats have been made by them, though the rest of the Army in which they have served hath been broken.

At the Battel of *Ravenne* were the Imperialists were beaten by the *French*, a Squadron of *Spaniards*, old Soldiers, came off unbroken and undismay'd; for it is truly said by these men, who by being acquainted with dangers, fear them not, they go about the business it self, how hard soever it be, not standing to consider of danger, which the mischief hanging over their Heads may bring, and as truly of those that do know

know the Wars but by hear-ſay; they have ability enough, and to ſpare, till dangers appear, but when Perils indeed come they get them gone.

In the Year one thouſand five hundred and eighty two, was that memorable Retreat of *Gaunt*, than which there hath not been an Exploit of War more celebrated; for the number of *Engliſh* were but three hundred Horſe, and as many thouſand Foot, (commanded by Sir *John Norris*) charged by the Prince of *Parma*, coming upon them with ſeven thouſand Horſe, beſide that, the whole Army of *Spaniards* was ready to march on, nevertheleſs Sir *John Nor-*

ris maintained a Retreat without diſarray, by the ſpace of ſome Miles, (part of the way Campaign) unto the City of *Gaunt* with leſs loſs of Men than the Enemy; the Duke of *Anjou*, and the Prince of *Orange* beholding this noble Action from the Walls of *Gaunt*, as in a *Theatre*, with great Admiration.

Of

Of Temperance and Chaſtity in Commanders, with Examples thereof.

TEmperance in Commanders is the only Safeguard againſt all Surprizals. We read of *Commodius* his Deputy in *Britain*: *Ulpius Marrellus* was ſo Temperate, that he cauſed his bread to be brought into the Camp from *Rome*, that for the ſtaleneſs of it, he might eat no more than was needfull, and ſo vigilant, that his Soldiers thought he never

never ſlept at Night, by which imitation they became a moſt Watchfull and Obedient people; for it is very obſervable, that Soldiers are ambitious to follow Examples of their Captains, whether it be either in Arts of Vertue or Vice.

Alexander as long as he lived within the bounds of Temperance, how Obedient were his Officers and Soldiers to him! but as ſoon as he gave himſelf up to Wine, we read not only Mutinies amongſt his Soldiers, but Treaſon (by his Officers) hatching againſt his own Perſon, for Wine begets Fury, Fury matter of Repentance, but preceding

ceding miſchiefs are not amended by ſucceeding bewailings; Drunkenneſs both kindles, and lays open every Vice, it removes out of the way that ſhame which gives impediment unto bad attempts; for where Wine gets the Maſtery, all the ill that before lies hidden breaks out: Drunkenneſs indeed rather diſcovers Vices, than makes them.

Amongſt the *Turks* the prohibition of Wine in time of War is ever puniſhed with Death: I have read of two men put to Death for bringing a very ſmall quantity of Wine into the Camp; for here men become Sober, Diligent, Watchfull, and Obedient; in

the *Turkiſh* Camp, no brauls, quarrels, nor clamours are heard; no abuſes are committed on their People in the march of their Army; all is bought and paid with money as by Travellers that are gueſts at an Inn: There are no Complaints by Mothers of the Rape of their Virgin Daughters, no violences of Robberies offer'd on the Inhabitants: All which good order tends to the Succeſs of their Arms, and the Enlargement of their Empire; as on the contrary, too much Liberty given to the Chriſtian Soldiers, eſpecially in drinking, is the only cauſe which moves them to a luſt and promti-

tude

tude to all Evils, and is the occaſion of the horrid outrages they commit, quarrels amongſt themſelves, and diſobedience to their Officers, and betrays oftentimes a whole Army to ruine by ſurprizal; for how can thoſe men be watchfull, whoſe Heads are charged with the fumes of ſtrong drink?

Chaſtity. *Ageſilaus*, King of *Sparta*, was a great Lover of Chaſtity, and he was a great Conqueror of others, ſo alſo he conquered his own Luſts; inſomuch that in his Journeys he would never lodge in private Houſes where he might have the

Company of Women, but ever lodg'd either in Temples, or in open Fields, making all men witneſſes of his Modeſty and Chaſtity. *Plut.*

Alexander the Great, being in the heat of Youth, ſhewed an admirable Example of Chaſtity, when having taken the Wives and Daughters of *Darius*, which were Women of admirable Beauty, yet he neither by Word nor Deed profer'd them the leaſt Indignity, thinking it a greater Honour to overcome himſelf, than his Adverſaries; and when he looked upon the other Captive Ladies that exceeded in Stature and Beauty, He merrily

rily ſaid, *Perſides oculorum dolores eſſe,* That the *Perſian* Women were a diſeaſe of the Eyes; and yet he looked on them as but on ſo many Statues; and underſtanding that two of his Captains under *Permenio* had raviſhed two of the *Perſian* Wives, he wrote to him to enquire after the matter, and if he found it true, that he ſhould cut off their Heads, as of Beaſts born for the hurt of Mankind; he alſo wrote him Word that he himſelf was ſo far from contemplating the Beauty of *Darius*'s Wife, that he would not as much as have her commended in his preſence; and that he was ſo carefull of her and

her Daughters Chaſtity, that they lived in his Camp, ſhut up in their Tent, as if they had been in a Temple. *Plut.*

Scipio Africanus warring in *Spain*, took new *Carthage* by Storm, at which time a Beautifull and Noble Virgin fled to him for Succour to preſerve her Chaſtity: He, being but Twenty four years old, and ſo in the heat of Bloud, hearing of it, would not ſuffer her to come into his ſight, for fear of a Temptation, but cauſed her to be reſtored in ſafety to her Father, *Aurel. Victor.*

Aurelian.

Aurelian, an Heathen Emperour, was so carefull to preserve the Chastity of Women, that one of his Soldiers being found guilty of lying with his Hostess, he commanded that two young Trees should be bowed down, and the Soldier's legs tied thereto; which being suddenly let go, tore him into two pieces.

Com-

Compaſſion in War.

VAlour is then beſt temper'd, when it can turn out of a ſtern Fortitude, into the mild ſtrains of Pity: It is written to the Honour of *Tamberlane*, that Conquering the *Moſcovites* with a Princely Valour, he falls from the Joys of the Victory to a Lamentation of the many caſual miſeries they endure, who are tied to follow the leading of Ambitious Generals, and all this from the ſight of the Field covered with the Soulleſs men. Some report of

Cæſar

Cæsar that he wept when he heard how *Pompey* dyed: Though Pity be a downy Vertue, yet she never shines more brightly than when she is clad in Steel. A martial man compassionate shall conquer both in Peace and War, and by a two-fold way get Victory with Honour.

Titus Vespasianus, was so Compassionate, That he said, he would rather dye himself, than put others to death: He proceeded no farther against two Noble Men, convicted for Affecting, and Aspiring to the Empire, than to admonish them to desist and give over, saying, That Sovereign Power was the

Gift

Gift of Deſtiny and Divine Providence, if they were Petitioners for any thing elſe, he promiſed to give it unto them.

Sueton, when *Alaxander* by *Permenio* won *Miletus*, and by force maſtered *Halicarnaſſus*, which, becauſe it reſiſted obſtinately, he razed to the ground; from thence he entred into *Caria*, where *Ada* the Queen, who had been caſt out of all that ever ſhe held (except the City of *Alinda*) by *Darius* his Lieutenant, preſented her ſelf unto him, and adopted him her Son, and Succeſſour, which *Alexander* accepted in ſuch gratious part, that he left the whole King-

Kingdom to her disposing. (Sir *Walter R.*)

It was duly observed, that as often as *Octavius Augustus* entred *Rome*, no punishment that day was inflicted upon any person; he was griev'd himself when he pronounc'd a grievous Sentence, and he thought himself punished when he punished others. *Senec.*

When the same *Augustus* had by Proclamation promised a great summe of money to him that should bring in that famous Pirate *Corocoto*, and put him into his Power, he knowing the Emperour's mild and

and temperate Vein, took the boldneſs to come in himſelf, and demanded the ſumme promiſed to him that ſhould bring him in, *Auguſtus* both Pardoned him, and gave him the Money. *Dion.*

Craſſus taken by *Cyrus* and impriſoned, deſpoiled of all things but the expectation of Death, he was forthwith tied in Fetters, and ſet on the top of a great and high heap of Wood, to be conſumed to aſhes thereon; to which when the Fire was kindled, remembring the diſcourſe which he had had with the *Athenian* Law-giver, he thrice cried out on his Name; *So-*

lon,

lon, Solon, Solon, and being demanded what he meant by that invocation, he firſt uſed ſilence, but urged again, he told them that he now found it true which *Solon* had long ſince told him; *That many men in the Race and Courſes of their lives may well be counted fortunate; but no man could diſcern himſelf happy indeed till his End*: Of which Anſwer *Cyrus* being ſpeedily informed, and remembring the Changes of Fortune, and his own Mortality, he commanded his Miniſters of Juſtice to withdraw the Fire with all diligence, and did not only ſpare his Life, but entertained him ever after as a

King,

King, and his Companion. Sir *Walt. R.*

Julius Cæsar said, the greatest Pleasure that ever he took of his Victories was, that he daily sav'd the Lives of some of his Country-men that bore Arms against him: And when *Pompey*'s Head was presented unto him, he wept bitterly and caused him to be honourably Buried; Saying, *Ego Pompeii casum deploro, & meam fortunam metuo*; I lament *Pompeys* Fall, and fear my own Misfortune.

From which we may observe in the general, That the most fam'd Men in the World, have

have had in them both Courage and Compassion, and often times wet Eyes as well as wounding hands.

Of

Of Fame gotten in War, with Examples thereof.

PLutarch tells of a poor *Indian*, that would rather endure a dooming to death, than ſhoot before *Alexander* when he had diſcontinued, leaſt by ſhooting ill he ſhould loſe the Fame he had gotten. Doubtleſs even this man was ordered by a Power above him, which inſtilleth into the minds of all men, an ardent Appetition of a laſting fame. Deſire of Glory is the

the laſt Garment that every Wiſe man lays aſide, not that it betters himſelf being gone, but that it ſtirs up thoſe that follow him to an earneſt endeavour of Noble Actions, which is the only means to win the Fame we wiſh for.

David durſt fight with the great *Philiſtian*, after he heard how the man ſhould be honoured that ſlew him.

Themiſtocles, that ſtreamed out his youth in Vine and Venery, and was ſuddenly changed into a Vertuous and Valiant man, told one that ask'd what did ſo ſtrangly

ly change him, That the Trophy of *Miltiades* would not let him ſleep.

Tamberlane made it his practice to read often the Heroick Deeds of his own Progenitors, not as boaſting in them, but as Glorious Examples propounded to enflame his Vertues: Surely nothing awakes our ſleeping Vertues like the Noble Acts of our Predeceſſours; how many Valiant Soldiers does a generous Leader make! *Brutus* and others bred many conſtant Patriots. Fame, I confeſs, I find more eagerly purſued by the *Heathens*, than by the *Chriſtians* of theſe

times; the Immortality as they thought of their Name was to them as the Immortality of the Soul to us, a ſtrong reaſon to perſuade to worthineſs; their Knowlege halted in the latter, ſo they reſted in the firſt, which often made them ſacrifice their Lives to that which they eſteemed above their Lives, their Fame.

When *Philip* asked *Dometritus*, if he did not fear to loſe his Head; *He* anſwered *no, for if he did, the* Athenians *would give him one Immortal, he ſhould be ſtatued in the Treaſure of Eternal Fame.*

Alexan-

Alexander Magnus, when he came to *Achilles*'s Tomb, he fell a weeping, to conſider that he had *Homer* to ſing his Praiſes, and to perpetuate them, whereas he had no ſuch Poet to ſet forth his Commendation. And *Lyſander*, the *Lacedemonian*, ſeeking after Fame, had always about him *Chærilus* the Poet, that he might celebrate in Verſe all his Victories and Vertues.

Auguſtus Cæſar, when he had made his Will, affixed to it four Books, wherein all his great Actions were recorded, requiring that they ſhould be engraven in Brazen-Pillars of his

his Sepulchre. And *Alphonſus* King of *Aragon* and *Sicily*, ſeeking Glory and Fame, did not only build many ſtately Edifices, but kept about him *Parnormitan*, an excellent Poet, and *Bartholomew Faccius*, a skilfull Hiſtorian, to record his Actions.

Cornelius Gallus being ſent by *Octavius Cæſar* to govern *Ægypt*, he began to grow very Proud of his great Honour; commanding his Statues to be erected upon the Pyramides.

Pompey the Great, when *Theophanes* of *Mytelene* had written his great Victories and Praiſes, by way of Recompence, beſtowed a City upon him.

Belizarius, after he had often overcome the *Goths* in *Italy*, and had taken Priſoner their King *Vitiges*, as alſo *Gilimer* King of the *Vandals* in *Africk*, and had ſettled *Africk* and *Sicily* in peace, and often Triumphed over the *Perſians*, he cauſed a Golden Croſs of an hundred pound weight, ſet with precious Stones, to be made, and thereon to be ingraven all his Victories; which he dedicated to St. *Peter's* Church in *Rome*, preſuming that out of reſpect to the Holineſs of the Place, it would continue there as a laſting Monument of his Praiſes. But of all, I like him beſt, who does things that deſerve

ſerve a fame without a ſearch, or caring for it; Since for a mean man to thirſt after mighty Fame, is a kind of fond Ambition.

Can we think a Mouſe able to caſt a ſhadow like an Elephant? Can a Sparrow have a train like an Eagle? Great Fame is for great Princes, and ſuch who for their Parts are the Glory of Humanity. Good Parts may adorn a private Man. The ſame fire may be in the Waxen Taper which is in the gilded Torch, but is not equal either in Quantity or Advancement. Let the World ſpeak well of me, and I will never care, though it does not ſpeak much.

Of Monarchy.

THE first, moſt Ancient, moſt General, and moſt Approv'd, was the Government of one, Ruling by Juſt Laws, called Monarchy. And *Ariſtotle* tells us in few words, *That a Magiſtrate, or Prince, is the keeper of Right and Equity*; but the ſame is beſt taught by St. *Paul*, who expreſſeth the Cauſe efficient and final; (that is) *by whom Magiſtrates and Princes are ordain'd, together with their Duties and Offices.* A Magiſtrate is the Miniſter of God for thy Good; but if thou doe evil, fear,

fear, *For he beareth not the Sword for nought. He is the Miniſter of God, to take vengeance on him that doeth evil*; Rom. 13. v. 4. He alſo teacheth in the ſame place, *that every Soul ought to be ſubject to the Higher Powers, becauſe they are by God ordain'd; and that whoſoever reſiſteth that Power, reſiſteth God the Giver and Fountain thereof.* Ver. 1, 2. *And ſhall not only be ſubject to the Judgment and Condemnation of Man, but of God; for you muſt be ſubject* (ſaith he) *not becauſe of Wrath only, but alſo for Conſcience ſake.* Ver. 5.

The Examples are not to be numbred of God's puniſhing thoſe who have re-

ſiſted Authority by God ordained and eſtabliſhed: Neither ought any Subject therefore to reſiſt the Power of Kings, becauſe they may be taxed with injuſtice or cruelty, for it pleaſed God ſometimes to puniſh his People by a Tyrannous hand: And the Commandments of Obedience are without diſtinction. The Prophets and Chriſt himſelf ſubjected themſelves to the Power of Magiſtrates. *Chriſt commanded the Dues to Cæſar ſhould be given unto him, and he paid tribute for himſelf and* Peter. Jerem. 29. v. 7. *Jeremiah* commanded the *Iſraelites* (even thoſe that were Captives under Heathen Kings) to pray

for

for them, and the Peace of *Babylon*: So *Abraham* pray'd for *Abimelech*, and *Jacob* bleſſed the King of *Ægypt*; and it is acceptable in the ſight of our Saviour (ſaith St. *Paul*) that you make Supplications and Prayers for Kings, and for all that are in Authority.

And if for ſuch Kings as were Idolatrous, much more for Chriſtian Kings and Magiſtrates; and ſo much did St. *Chriſoſtome*, in his Homily to the people, prefer Monarchical Government, that he rather commended the Rule of Kings (though Tyrants,) than that they ſhould be wanting: *Preſtat Regem Tyrannum habere, quam nullum*, Better a Tyran-

nous

nous King, than no King: And if they be good Kings, (which is generally preſuppoſed,) then is there no liberty more ſafe than to ſerve them: And certainly howſoever it may be diſputed, yet it is ſafer to live under one Tyrant, than under ten Thouſand Tyrants; under a wiſe man that is Cruel, than under the barbarous Cruelty of the Multitude.

For as *Ageſilaus* anſwered a Citizen of *Sparta*, that deſired an Alteration of the Government, *viz.* That that kind of Government, which a man would diſdain in his own houſe, were very unfit to govern great Regions by.

Expe-

Experience in Arms is the Original of true Nobility.

THe Romans made a Law that no Man ſhould be admitted into the Council, or Civil Magiſtracy, without he had firſt ſerved ten years in the Wars; and the reaſon was, that they, by undergoing the Severities and Difficulties thereof, might be the better Judges how to prevent it in times of Peace. And we ſee, that by experience in Arms Kingdoms ſubſiſt, Juſtice flouriſhes, and true Nobility hath its Being: For be-

fore

fore Wars were known, all Men were of an equal Birth, and the difference of Eſtates and Offices, made the ſole diſtinction of perſons.

War, in ancient time, was neither the Refuge of the wretched, nor the Sanctuary of the baniſhed; and the *Romans* received none but choſen Men into their ſervice, who were obliged to put themſelves in good Equipage, and for the ſpace of twenty years ſerve upon their own expence, either amongſt the Horſe or Foot; and when they had fulfilled the term of their Service, they received from the Commonwealth Rewards ſuitable to the Merits of their

Actions,

Actions; either by being promoted to Honour, or endow'd with the Lands of those they conquer'd.

Besides, Experience puts a difference between those that have carried Arms, and such as have not; for from the Reputation of their brave Exploits, which they had engraven on their Shields, as a mark of the Nobility which they had acquir'd by their Valour; from thence, I say, we have Escutcheons, and the Titles of Knight, Esquire, & Gentleman. Such, I say, were of chiefest note amongst the Nobility, and from them are descended the illustrious Families of great Lords, who carry Coronets over

over their Arms, and who, in proceſs of time, have changed their ancient Titles into thoſe at preſent, according to the new Dignities wherewith Sovereigns have been pleaſed to honour them; as of Duke, Marqueſs, Earl, Viſcount, Baron, and the like. Experience in Arms hath alſo raiſed to the Throne many of low and deſpicable birth; King *David* was a Sheepherd; and *Saul*, his Predeceſſour, thought it no ſcorn to ſeek his Father's Aſſes. *Antipater*, King of *Macedonia*, was the Son of a Juggler; *Agathocles*, King of *Syracuſe*, of a Potter; *Cambiſes*, King of *Perſia*, was ſaid to be the Son of a Carter;

ter; King *Sibaris* was a Servant in an Inn; and *Ottoman*, the raiser of that mighty Family who at this time poſſeſſes the greateſt Empire in the World, was at firſt no better than a Groom, or one who drove Camels. Theſe Examples oblige us to acknowledge, that it is only Experience in Arms that renders Men worthy of the moſt glorious employments; and that in the Profeſſion of Arms is likewiſe to be learnt that brave gentile way of Demeanour, which is no where to be found but amongſt the Nobility and Gentry. There every thing goes by Honour, without Lucre or Profit. There Men

learn to be generous, liberal and faithfull: There are nothing to be found in the Hiſtories of the greateſt Captains, but acts of Honour and Vertue.

The Valour of *Alexander*, the Prudence of *Cæſar*, the Modeſty of *Tyberius*, the Juſtice of *Aulus Fulvius*, the Clemency of *Auguſtus*, the Magnificency of *Titus Veſpaſian*, the Chaſtity of *Scipio Affricanus*, and the Integrity of *Atillius Regulus*, are ſufficient proofs of what I have alledged.

Yet nevertheleſs, without flattery let it be ſpoken, to the praiſe of this our Nation, It is no where to be found in

Hiſtories, either ancient or modern, that ever *Engliſh* Valour gave place to any other Nation in the World, but always rank'd it ſelf in the Front. What wonderfull exploits have there been done by *Engliſh* Soldiery, as the moſt famous Battels of *Cræſſy*, *Agincourt*, and *Poictiers* can bear me witneſs? And to the eternal Honour of *Edward* the third, and his Son, the Prince of *Wales*, famous by the Title of the Black Prince, I may with Juſtice ſay it, that they with their ſmall numbers of Men, ſhew'd more true Valour in fighting their Battels, and gaining their Victories, than ever *Alexander* with his

Par-

Hannibal, and the rest of his great Captains, did, in conquering the whole World.

Therefore let not *English* Valour degenerate now; let not the charming Beauty of *Venus* cause us to forget *Mars*; for I am sure the courageous Heart takes more delight to be in the Fields of War, than in the Arms of a *Dalilah*; for the Actions of the former crown us with a lasting Fame, but the latter only load us with Scandal and Ignominy.

THE END.